SPEECH OF MP. EDWARD EVERETT,

OF MASSACHUSETTS, On the Correal American Treaty concluded with Ureat Britain on the 19th April, 1850.

IN SENATE, MARCH 21, 1853.

Mr. EVERETT said: Mr. President, it has not been my intention, as I had the honor to state to the Senate on Thursday last, to engage in the debate which has been conducted with so much ability in this place during the last eight or ten days.

It was quite natural, in fact it was unavoidable, that the Senator from Delaware, (Mr. CLAYTON,) after returning to the Senate, of which for twenty-four years he had been one of the brightest ornaments, should be desirous of availing himself of the first opportunity of vindicatin the negotiation of the treaty of the 19th of April, 1850, which was conducted by him under the direction of Pre sident Taylor. It was not less a matter of course that the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, (Mr. Mason,) and that the Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) who had taken part in the debates of the last session, should reply to the statements of the honorable Senator from Delaware. But, for my own part, my humble connexion with the affairs of Central America is much more recent and slight. Entirely a stranger to the nego tiation of the treaty, and not less a stranger to the debate which took place in this chamber in the early part of the last session, I should have considered it rather obtrusive to throw myself into the discussion of the general subjects which have been controverted with so much ability by the gentlemen to whom I have just alluded. I will also take the liberty to say, that when I took my place upon this floor about three weeks ago-and I consider it the highest honor of my public life that I have been permitted to have a seat here-I came here in such a state of complete exhaustion, bodily and mental, after the fatigues of the last winter in another capacity, that I felt myself altogether indisposed to any considerable mental

But the discussion that has taken place in reference to the history of past events has connected itself with the present condition of affairs in Central America, toward which my attention has been recently called. A communication was made to the Department of State in the early part of February by the Minister of the British Government, at Washington, with the express intimation of a wish that the purport of that communication should in some proper public form come before the Government of the United States. That was done through the medium of a report from the Department of State to the President, of the 16th of February, which was by him sent to the two Houses on the 18th of the same month. That communication seemed to me to afford an opportunity of making a new effort, with considerable prospect of success, to bring all the difficult controverted matters in that quarter to an amicable and desirable issue. It seemed to me particularly to suggest the propriety of putting our diplomatic relations with Central America upon a better and more efficient footing than they have stood upon for some time past. This suggestion was made by me to the President; it was approved by him, was by him submit-ted to Congress, and has been honored by their sanction; the two Houses having made the requisite appropriation for a full minister to be sent by this Government to the States of Central America, to reside at either or any of the capitals of those States, respectively, as he may think expedient, and thus to be able to bring to bear all the influence of his character and station in reconciling the difficulties which exist between those Republics, and bringing the questions at issue between them and us to an

There are other circumstances which led me to suppos that this was a propitious moment for making this effort; and it does seem to me, from the character of the recent debate, that if it should now finally terminate without any allusion to those circumstances, it would, as I stated tast Thursday, leave upon the public mind not only an incorrect but a somewhat painful impression as to the read state of affairs in that part of the world, and our connexion with them: that the country would be alarmed with the idea that the state of affairs is more critical in that quarter than it really is. To rectify this impression is the main object of my addressing the Senate at this

Before I do this, I wish to make my acknowledgment to the distinguished Senator from Illinois, (Mr. Douglas,) whom I do not at this moment see in his place, for the wery complimentary notice he was pleased to take of the etter addressed by me on the 1st of December to the Ministers of France and England on the subject of the tripartite convention relating to Cuba. If I could think that he did not, in the warmth of the argument in which he was encaged, overstate the merits of that letter I should certainly feel that, with the favorable notice taken of it by so distinguished a judge, my highest ambition as a public man ought to be satisfied. It was a subject of routes of communication between the Atlantic and the great difficulty, importance, and delicacy, dividing to some servatism. This was the object which I had in view, and if I shall be thought in any degree to have attained it. my utmost ambition will be satisfied.

Allow me to say one other word, as I have alluded to this topic, of a personal nature. Called as I was, in the month of November last, without a day's preparation, after a retirement of seven years from all active participation in political life, to occupy-but alas! sir, how far from filling-the place of one of the foremost statesmen of the age; called upon within three or four weeks, the greater part of which time was passed in the bustle of a public house, without a book to refer to, without a leisure moment for research or inquiry, to take up such important questions as the Lobes Islands, the Crescent City affair, the difficulty about the fisheries, and then this last great subject of a tripartite convention; to dispose of all these questions under the daily pressure of the routine of the Department—enough of itself to put to the test the stoutest capacity of labor and endurance—I did feel that this was a task of no ordinary magnitude, and one that should entitle a person to some charitable consideration for any imperfection or defect in the performance of his And, sir, if in the State papers which I was obliged, in very rapid succession, to produce, it should be found, under the severe scrutiny to which they must of necessity be subjected, that somethings-as I understand is alleged to be the case-are omitted which had better been said, that some things are put forward which had better been reserved for other opportunities, and some things stated, abstractly true, but without sufficient quaification and guards, if any thing of this shall be found I trust that due allowance will be made; as I also confi-dently trust it will still be found that there is nothing in

them committing the honor or the interest of the country.

The honorable Senator from Illinois cited some sen tences from my letter of the 1st of December, 1852, which he thought were in direct contradiction, on the ground of constitutional principle, with some of the provisions of the treaty which was negotiated by my friend from Dela ware. Now, sir, I think that if a due allowance is made for the entire difference in the nature of the compacts, and of the relations of the contracting parties to the subject-matter, the total dissimilarity in the geographical and historical circumstances that give the character to the two conventions, it will be admitted that the constitu-tional doubt which I expressed—for it was but a doubt and which applied in the one case, does not apply in the other. Sir, the compacts were totally different. them, the Cuban convention, would not have received, I am sure, a single vote in the Senate, if the Executive had been ill advised enough to send it here. The other was confirmed by a majority largely exceeding that which was required by the constitution. The Senator from Delaware has said that he concurs in the principles of the letter of the 1st of December, and he has shown you that the policy pursued by him towards Cuba was precisely the same as that pursued by the late Administration. there is the difference which the Senator from Illinois thinks there is between some of the doctrines of the Cuban letter and the principles of the treaty, I should feel that it behooved me quite as much to look to my letter as it does the Senator from Delaware to look to his treaty and, instead of attacking him, I should think it was much wiser for me to look around to find how I might fortify myself. In fact, my friend from Delaware is one of the last men with whom I should wish to engage in a parkamentary warfare, even with the advantage of the alliance of a leader so vigorous and skilful as the Senator from Illinois. I should fear that that alliance would prove an "entangling nilinnee" to me, which, if not absolutely unconstitutional, it would be very unadvisable for me to

But it is time that I should proceed to the exposition which I propose to make, and which I must forewarn you, Mr. President, in the outset, is to be of a plain, businesslike character, which it would be idle to seek to invest with any rhetorical attractions. Our relations with Central America have for some time formed one of the most important topics of consideration within the whole range of our foreign relations—an importance out of all pro-portion to the consequence of these States themselves; that is, either to their population, to their political weight, or to any commercial relations which we either have or ever can expect to have with them. The five States, Guatemala, San Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, all together do not contain a population greater than that of the single State of Ohio. And that population, instead of being compact, homogeneous population, proper together, is divided into five States, with their bodians, my friend from Delaware has characterized it contracting parties would exert their good offices to recontracting parties would exert their good offices to recontract the parties would exert their good offices to recontract the parti

two bundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, and ten thousand only of these are of the pure European blood, while the rest, the remaining two hundred and forty thousand, are of mixed races, colors, and castes.

I do not say this by way of disparagement. I do not mean to argue that our relations with these States are unimportant because they are small. They are incidentally of great magnitude. I do not undervalue these little Republics. They have had every thing to contend with. They were educated in the worst possible political school, that is the old Spanish colonial regime. They have struggled ato independence under the greatest inconveniences and obstacles. They are in their infancy. They will grow, I have no doubt, and prosper. They have a beautiful poion, lying between the two great oceans, with some of the finest ports upon either shore. Their climate, for a tropical climate, is for the most part salubrious and agreeble. They have a fertile soil which yields all the valuable products of the tropics, and they have mines of silver and gold; they have lakes and rivers which furnish facilities of communication; they have agriculture and some commerce; and they have made some progress in the arts civilization But they have yet a great deal to learn; and it will be for their permanent advantage if in the result of their communication with other Powers more ad anced than themselves they shall derive some important essons. Their internal fends are deplorable, and their cessant border wars are a drawback upon all progress. While I am speaking, the State of Gustemala, with a population of eight hundred thousand, is marching an army of x thousand men against her sister State of Honduras with three hundred thousand; and Honduras, in her turn, is sending a military force to dislodge the English woodupon her disputed frontier. Sir, these feuds, these border wars and contentions, can produce, they do produce, no other result than a series of bloody revoluns, which, besides leaving them in a state of almost semi-barbarism, have the effect of disheartening their friends in every other part of the world.

These States have formed, or at least have endeavored to form, their political institutions after the model of our own. While they might have learned from us that federal union which, leaving every thing that belongs t cal administration to the separate States, confers on the central government only those matters that are of general concernment; in short, a government like ours, if wisely and purely administered, may be the strongest government on the earth, as I believe ours in the long run will turn out to be; on the other hand, there is no form of govern-ment so weak, so hopeless, so contemptible as that of small separate States lying side by side without harmony, without concert, and employing all their energies in making war upon each other.

Though there was a great interest taken by the United States in the fortunes of the Spanish American colonies when they threw off the yoke of the mother country, and asserted their independence—an interest mainly inspired by the kindling cloquence of Henry Clay-there was per haps no part of these vast territorial possessions that ex-cited less interest than the five States into which the anient kingdom of Guatemala resolved itself. They were small separately and small collectively. We had little or no commercial intercourse with them. They had no great places of resort to attract the curiosity of the traveller in fact, we knew but little about them; they were a most lost upon the map of America. In 1822, the year after the revolution was effected, the State of San Salva-dor passed a formal act in her Legislature providing for her incorporation into the American Union; she sent two ommissioners to Washington to earry that act into effect, I do not know that the least notice was taken of them. suppose they were treated with personal civility, as natter of course, but no communication was made t ongress upon the subject. I am not sure that any offi al response was made to it, even from the Executive. I am inclined to think there was none. At subsequent pe ods, and under various Administrations, attempts were nade to enlist the active interference of the United States n favor of the Central American Republics, but never with the least success under any Administration. not say this reproachfully; it is no matter of reproach. Looking back for a period of nearly thirty years, upon the history of these countries, I cannot find the time nor the occasion when we could have enlisted actively in their affairs with any prospect of doing them the least good, or without departing from all the safe and settled princi-

ples of policy of our own country.

But at length the time came; at length an era opened not only in our own history but theirs, and in the history of the whole world. You know that I refer to the acquisition of California, and the discovery of its gold. Then, sir, an intense necessity was immediately felt for Pacific oceans: between the Atlantic States and our new extent the opinions of the people, and it was my desire in that matter to find out if possible, and to assert a line the tide of emigration—I cannot compare it to any thing the tide of emigration—I cannot compare it to any thing else but what I have witnessed a hundred times on the of principle and of policy which would be generally approved by the country; which would show that it was seashore—the tide of emigration, like the tides of the these transatlantic colonies. In the war which took place irresistible moral necessity an outlet into the Pacific ocean. The project of a canal hadooften been started before, propositions had been made, charters applied for surveys undertaken; but nothing practical had been done. But now it was plain that the time had come when something practical must be done. Attempts were commenced, and pretty soon we heard of small steamers that were wigating the inland streams and lakes of Central America, and companies of pilgrims of both sexes and of all ay through those dark tropical forests, through the granches of which the rays of the sun had never penerated since creation.

A charter for a canal was soon granted by Nicaragua a company of American citizens, and if no political difficulties had existed, and if Central America had been occupied by a population like that which poured the waters Lake Eric into the bed of the Hudson at Albany, I de not know that it would be extravagant to say that at this very moment three-masted vessels of twenty feet draught would be navigating the waters of Lake Nicaragua, on

But unfortunately political obstacles did exist—obsta-cles of all kinds. There were dissensions between the neighboring States of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. There was a difference between Nicaragua and the British Government, assuming to be the protector of the Mosquito Indians; and jealousies, it must be said, were entertained—unfounded jealousies. I think—but jealousies were sincerely entertained between the United States and Great that each of these great maritime Powers was lesirous of obtaining some exclusive advantage to itself n reference to the opening of this route of interoceanic communication.

Now, sir, it was a great object, as I understand it, of the treaty negotiated on the part of this Government by my friend from Delaware, to remove these difficulties, particularly so far as the United States and Great Britain were concerned; and to establish the principle that neither of these great Powers wished for any separate and exclusive advantage. That treaty was negotiated precisely on the principles that had governed every movement and every step which had been taken from the first by the United States, in reference to artificial interoceanic communication. As I think, it was the right principle; that that neither party should seek any exclusive advantage; and that the two great Powers would unite, so far as de pended upon them, in opening this great pathway to the

It is a point which I think has not received sufficient atntion, viz. that if the whole matter was to be peaceably isposed of, it was absolutely necessary that such an unerstanding should take place between the United States Britain. The United States could not take a grant of exclusive privileges from Nicaragua, because Nicaragua was not in a condition to make such a grant. ned an unbroken sovereignty over the She was satisfied that her claim was good, and erhaps we were satisfied that it was good. I think myself that it was: but it was not uncontested. There was another great Power that denied the validity of the claim; there was a great Power that set up rival pretensions, and it was necessary that these should be disposed of; and was the great object, or one of the great bjects effected by the treaty of the 19th of April, And I will say this: I wish to do no more and no less than justice to Great Britain; and although she did set up this aim, and although we think it unfounded, yet, in reference to the canal, she set it up only to waive it. She did not make any use of this pretension to obstruct the execution of the charter which Nicaragua had given. She said, in effect, that Nicaragua had no right to give such a charter, because she did not own the territory for the whole distance. But she did not use her rival claim to obstruct that charter. On the contrary, it was one of the leading objects of the Convention of the 19th of April, 1850, to give the assent of Great Britain to the execution of that charter which was granted to American citizens. She gave her own consent in the form of obtaining the assent of the Mosquito Indians, over whom she claimed a pro-It was only a form of giving her own consent. She not only gave her own consent, and that of the Mosquito Indians, but she undertook to use her influence, in onjunction with the United States, to obtain that of Costa Rico; so that whatever we may think of her rights as the protector of the Mosquito Indians, she availed herself of em, not to obstruct, but to aid the work.

Now, as to the protectorate which Great Britain claims t is her right and her duty to exercise over the Mosquito Tolians, my friend from Delaware has characterized it

we have been brought most into connexion, that of Nica-ragua, according to the account of Mr. Squier, has but direction of the Department of State, with Lord Palmerston on his way to Paris in 1849. Lord Palmerston said

" From a very early period the Mosquito Indians had been "From a very early period the Mosquito Indians had been treated by the British Government as a separate and an inde-pendent State. They had what was called a king, who, by-the-by, he added, (says Mr. Rives,) in a tone of pleasantry, was as much a king as you or I."

mething of history in it. It had a pedigree. It rau ack two centuries, and Great Britain maintained, apparently in good faith, that in the course of these two cenuries she has contracted certain obligations and duties towards these Mosquito Indians, now reduced to a mere ndful, and they in the most wretched condition, which the does not feel herself at liberty to disregard. This Mosquito kingdom, in its origin and progress,

ally a little more important than it might otherwise thought. It played a very important part in the history of the world. It was a prominent incident in the Spanish colonial system, which for a century and a half gave a character to the politics of the whole civilized world. merica having been discovered by the great navigator who sailed under Spanish auspices, Spain possessed herself of the largest and the noblest part of the continent. From California to Cape Horn, with the exception of Brazil, every thing fell into her hands. It was not merely the largest and fairest part, but it was the part which contained within itself those tropical treasures, and especially those treasures of silver and gold, which have in all times overmastered the imaginations of men. Why, sir, I believe such was the state of things in the seventeenth century that the whole exportable product of what is now known as the United States did not exceed one half a mil lion of dollars annually; and that, I need not tell you, was perhaps no more than half the amount contained ne of the treasure ships which were regularly dispatched om Vera Cruz to Cadiz. Spain locked up all this treaare beneath the bolts and bars of her colonial monopoly the did no more with respect to her colonies than England with respect to hers. It was the ancient colonial system; but the productions of the Spanish colonies were so much more important than those of England, that the whole commercial world sought its revenge by endeavoring to orce a contraband trade with the Spanish colonies. This trade was carried on by the wholesale and retail, by private individuals and by armed squadrons, by adventurers whom the trader, the buccaneer, and the pirate were so much mixed up that it was hard to say which charac-ter prevailed. After Jamaica was conquered, in the time of Cromwell, that island became the basis of these operations. Spain, of course, sought to defend herself, and ske not only instituted a line of guarda costas all along her shores to drive off every vessel that was seen hoverng in those waters, as if a pestilence lurked in her sailssuch was the detestable character of this ancient coloial system-but she also undertook to institute a right search of any merchant vessel which should show itself within a considerable distance of the Spanish coast. Of ourse this led to infinite collisions. Vars were constantly eaking out; in these wars islands vere seized and estab ishments were formed upon the man. Roatan and the ther Bay Islands were captured by Admiral Vernon in he first half of the last century. When the war ccased ese islands would be surrendered and the establishents given up, or pretended to begiven up. But the eace would prove to be a hollow truce, and the same sysm of forcing a contraband trade would recommence, the me right of search would be insituted, war would break out again, and then the same sircle of operations was repeated.

It is but fair to say that, in this long struggle of a cenury and a half, the whole commercial world took sides gainst Spain. We now are inclined to sympathize with r; and we think but meanly of this Mosquito protecorate, and we regard the occupation of those islands and ese establishments on the main by Great Britain as acts justice and violence. But it was no thought so then. whole commercial world, exclusive of Spain and her allies, sympathized with England, and no part of the world more than the English colonies; now the United States. I have been amused in reading the old colonial ournals to see the effusions of the loyal feeling that was nstantly poured out from these colonies, when the pubmind was greatly excited in England upon subjects of ais kind. On that memorable occasion, which you reellect from the history of those times, when a certain aptain Jenkins was brought upon the floor of Parliaent, and exhibited his mutilated ears, and a fragment which had been torn from one of them, and produced such an excitement that England, against the opinion of the Prime Minister, was drawn into a war with Spain, in the whole compass of the British empire there was per-haps nowhere such fervent, loyal zeal exhibited as in pies from Porto Bello and Carthagena. There are men now living whose great-grandfathers laid down their ones upon the Spanish main. Sir, the name of the home of Washington upon the banks of the Potomac, here i your neighborhood, derived its origin from the enthusiasm felt by Washington's elder brother for one of the unfortunate heroes of those wars who found upon these pes tiferous coasts an enemy against which human courage and strength were of no avail-

"You, gallant Vennox, saw The miserable scene; you pitying saw To infant weakness shrunk the warrior's arm: Saw the deep-racking pang, the ghastly form, The lip pale quivering, and the beamless eye No more in ardor bright; you heard the groans agonizing ships from shore to shore; Heard nightly plunged beneath the sullen wave

Sir, it was owing to nothing but the yearnings of a ond maternal heart that our beloved Washington himself for whom a warrant as midshipman in the royal navy had en obtained, did not, a few years later, enlist himself in those disastrous wars, with an equal prospect of sacrificing his life in the support of the system of which this wretched Mosquito protectorate was a part.

Such was the origin, such the foundation of this Mos quito claim, carried on in defiance of the power of Spain as long as the power of Spain existed; and after the Spanish colonies threw off the yoke, carried on in defiance, with the acquiescence of the coterminous States. Such I understand to have been its origin, such its history, reduced at the present day to very small dimensions, the state of affairs having wholly changed, and the English Government having no longer any interest or any motive in adhering to the protectorate. Such she assures us is

the case. Now, in reference to this canal, its southeastern terninus-the port of San Juan-fell within the limits of the territory which was claimed to be-claimed to be is all I say-under this protectorate. This claim was of course denied by Nicaragua. She had temporarily posessed herself of the port after a long dispute with the British; but in January, 1848, the Nicaraguans were promptly expelled by an English force; and the first hing that was done by the British authority-and I must say, in my opinion, in very bad taste-was to change the ancient euphoneous name of San Juan del Norte, or San Juan de Nicaragua, (I do not ware which,) into the modern and to my ear very insipid appellation of Greytown. I hope the first thing that will be done by the independent authorities of San Juan, if they are independent, will be to change it back again. Let us again have that fine old and well-sounding Spanish name.

Now, as I said, the convention negotiated by my friend rom Delaware, with the approbation of the President, on the 19th of April, 1850, removed a considerable part of the obstacles which grew out of the claim to the protectorate; but there were other difficulties remaining. Costa Rica and Nicaragua were still at variance. Nicaragua refused, in any way, to recognise the independent existence of the Mosquito Indians. She refused to renounce her territorial rights to San Juan. In the mean time the preliminary surveys had been instituted, and it was and that the canal would not pass all the way on the left bank of the river. It was found that probably in me places it would go into the bed of the river and in other places it would go on the right bank of the river; and Costa Rica claimed that her rightful boundary came up to the right bank of the river. Then how could we get along with a charter that was given upon the principle of the exclusive sovereignty of gua? It was impossible that foreign capitalists, who do not enter into these matters with the critical skill of diplomatists, would risk their capital in a country like Central America, where domestic feuds and border wars are the order of the day, to build an enormously expensive canal which would cost perhaps \$100,000,000, over disputed territory, where the soil was liable to be wrested rom them at any moment by a contesting Power. It was necessary that something further should be done to

adjust all these controverted questions. Who should do it? The mediation of the United States and Great Britain had over and over again been invoked by both States. In the treaty of the 19th of April, 1850, which I have so often to allude, there was an express stipulation that if any differences existed between the States or the Government in reference to the canal, or any question of right of property connected with it, the high

disabled from making itself felt in any relations with for-cign countries, like the population of the State, the noble cign countries, like the population of the State, the noble state, which I have just named. The State with which ter from Mr. Rives to Mr. Clayton, then Secretary of we have been brought most into connexion, that of Nica-we have been brought most into connexion, that of Nicaand Nicaragua on the other; but without any favorable result. About that time Nicaragua had entered into a partial confederacy with Honduras and San Salvador, to strengthen herself against Costa Rica. She had merged her separate political accordingly in this federal merged her separate political accordingly in the federal merged her separate political according to the federal merged her separate political according to the federal merged her separate political according to the federal merged her separate political merged her separate poli

> vertheless, it was really an ancient affair. There was proceedings towards the construction of the canal; and it were only advisory. They could be nothing else. They were recommendations of two friendly Powers, having no nterest at variance with that of either party; regarding them both with the most friendly eye; and anxiously seeking the best method by which all these difficulties could reconciled, and an effectual impulse given to the execution of the great work. They were only propositions. They were not a convention. They were the basis of a convention that was to be submitted to the two Governments of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. After having been arranged with great deliberation here, they were sent by separate commissioners to the capitals of Nicaragua and Costa Rica. They were accepted by Costa Rica; they were rejected by Nicaragua. Now, sir, let us for a moment consider what these propositions were.

I shall not take up the time of the Senate by going into a very great detail. It would be hard to be understood without a map of the country, and without more time than it would be convenient for the Senate to bestow on the subject; but the main objects were few and simple. The first was this: out of the very large tract of countrylying east of Nicaragua covered by the claim of the Mosquito lift a somewhat heavy load from my mind. I thought Indians, to retain a moderate reservation for the temposaw at no great distance the prospect of an adjustmen collected here; they were to be withdrawn from every other point which they may have occupied. In the centre of the coast of this territory lay the ancient settlement of the 9th of August, 1842. Bluefields, the foundation of which runs back into the seventeenth century, if I am not mistaken. They were all to be brought together on this reservation, and all the rest of this large territory west and south of the reservation was to be ceded in full sovereignty to Nicaragua. This cession included the much desired port of San Juan The great bone of contention, if I may so call it, was to be given up to Nicaragua by these propositions; and in consideration of this large cession of territory, and of getting rid of the disagreeable controversy, it was proposedproposed only, all this was a proposition—that Nicaragua, as a pecuniary indemnity to the Mosquito nation, should pay to them the nett proceeds of an ad valorem duty of n per cent. upon articles imported into San Juan for three years. How much that would amount to I cannot regard which it owed to the broken-down fragments of undertake to say, but I do not suppose it would amount in the whole to more than fifty or sixty thousand dollars. That was the entire pecuniary consideration which was to paid for the surrender of the sovereignty of San Juan, and for the cession of the rest of the country lying west and southwest of the reservation to which I have alluded. This was not all. The reservation itself was not intend-

ed to be perpetual. On the contrary, it was expressly provided, in a separate article, that the terms of the settlement should not preclude Niceragua from making any private agreement she might please with the Mosquito Inians for what we should call the extinguishment of their title. She was to be at liberty at any time to make a privote arrangement with the Mosquito Indians for the final extinguishment of the title, and consequently the absorption of the reservation into the Nicaraguan State-the Indians to be incorporated with the citizens of that State, of course; which would be no hardship, because by far the largest part of the population of Nicaragua is composed of the native race and their descendants.

These were the propositions as far as concerns the Mosquito protectorate and San Juan, and all that part of the perishing from the face of the earth. controversy. Nicaragua being so highly favored on that side, it was thought no more than reasonable that Costal and satisfactory communication. I thought it held out Rica, the other party, should be somewhat favored on her side; not, however, by giving her all that was asked, bese she claimed to go up to the San Juan river through its whole extent from the lake to the ocean. That was not admitted in the proposition. She also claimed that part toward bringing about this arrangement, we should and within sight of the Honduras coast, is, considering she had an equal right with Nicaragua in the port of San Juan. That could not be admitted, because the exclusive sovereignty was proposed to be given to Nicaragua; but it was proposed that Costa Rica should go the Colorado, a branch that strikes off from the San Juan to the right, and giving the large delta between the Colorado and the San Juan to Nicaragua, that Costa Rica should follow up proved by the country; which would show that it was possible to respond to proved by the country in the possible to respond to possible to possible to possible to respond to possible to possible to possible to respond to possible to possible to possible to possible to possible to possible to possi Pacific. I admit that this was a boundary favorable to inconvenience in that course, if this town is to grow. Costa Rica, though it did not, as I have said, give her all For, mind you, sir, it will be an American town. Mr. again. We claimed our boundary on the northeast as running up far beyond the river St. John—for we have our San Juan too—we claimed that we went far beyond that river on the northeastern boundary of Maine. England serted its inherent right to establish its own government, said that the boundary line began at Mars' Hill, far south to go back under the sovereignty of Nicaragua. Still, of the St. John. The controversy lasted fifty years; and un finally we were obliged to settle it by each party giving if it rested with me, of giving Nicaragua that option, and

up something of its extreme pretension.
So it was on the coast of the Pacific. There we claimed up to 54° 40'. The British said, on the other hand, that the line ought to follow the Columbia river down to the Pacific. The two countries were brought almost to point of collision on this question; but at last it was ight on all sides that the only practicable and honorle mode of settling the question was to adopt a middle m, and take the line of the forty-ninth degree of latiude-which was the boundary east of the Rocky moun-ains-as the line of demarkation to the sea. If great owers like England and the United States, the le Powers of the commercial and maritime world, find it ne-cessary to settle their border controversies by these muial sacrifices, can Nicaragua, can Costa Rica expect to just theirs on any better principle? However, as I d, the terms of the settlement proposed were accepted Costa Rica, but Nicaragua did not think it expedient her to adopt them.

While these matters were passing, a very singular event curred in San Juan, of which I believe I can best give account to the Senate by reading an extract from a wing, under date of the 5th of June, 1852:

"I find the Government of the place in the hands of a cor ation, or organization, formed principally of American citi-It consists of a mayor and a city council. They have estitution which recognises the trial by jury, and is alto ether formed, as far as it goes, upon liberal principles. They are a well organized police, judges, and aldermen, all election annually by the people. There is likewise a captain of port and a health officer. All articles of commerce are

witted free of duty." * * *
"In March last, Mr. Green, the British consul and agent of Mosquito King, president of the then council at Grey-wn, upon the request being made by some of the principal chabitants, issued a proclamation or order for a convention of the people of the town to meet and frame a new constituwas adopted, under which all the before mentioned officers ave been elected."

Now, this Government is carried on under the name of is a decided preponderance of the British influence in the Government. The officers, by the way, I am informed, are all American; but I doubt not that Mr. Boone corectly states the fact that they are decidedly under British influence. I suppose this is pretty natural, considering the previous history of affairs there; because this sali municipality naturally relies upon the name of the afficiently strong to protect themselves.

With respect to the manner in which affairs are managed by this new municipal Government I would speak with some reserve. I do not like at this distance to give a decided opinion founded upon ex parte information; but I must say that this new Government, though founded on principle, with which, in the United States, we must have all our sympathies enlisted—that of popular electionwould seem to be carrying on their affairs very badly. They have lately, by an act of violence, for which no doubt some provocation was given, gone across the river and pulled down the buildings of the transit company; and I have also received information of some transactions towards certain French settlers established there, which, if they are truly represented, will involve the municipal authorities of this new corporation in a heavy responsibility to the French empire. As I said before, these may be infounded reports, and it would be wrong to form a decided opinion upon ex parte information. I hope, as the new constitution is organized upon popular principle, that it will by a wise administration do credit to such an origin.

Such was the state of things in that quarter when I
went into the Department of State last November. It

in Washington, between the Scoretary of State and the British Minister on one side, and the envoys of Costa Rica Minister. In a fortnight or three weeks I received from result. About that time Niearagus had entered into a partial confederacy with Honduras and San Salvador, to strengthen herself against Costa Rica. She had merged the specifical terms of final adjustment, were signed the sovereignty in this federation. She difficulties in Central America. I will confess to a suspicion of bad faith, which I do not admit, could rest had no longer the power, if she had the desire, to treat you, Mr. President, that this communication produced After this account which the British Minister for Foreign Affairs gives of the Mosquito kingdom and of the
Mosquito king, I think it would be wasting the time of
the Senate of the United States for me to bestow many
words to prove the inanity of the king and kingdom. Nefurther delay was out of the question; that it was already amounting to an indefinite postponement of all energetic proceedings towards the construction of the canal; and it was absolutely necessary that something decisive should be done. Accordingly, in the month of April, 1852, the Secretary of State and the British Minister, acting under the instructions of their Governments respectively, came together and held conferences on this subject; and, after mature deliberation, they agreed to the propositions command the propositions of the 30th of April, 1852, and the propositions of the 30th of April, 1852, the instructions of the morthsquare to this covernment. But yet together and held conferences on this subject; and, after mature deliberation, they agreed to the propositions command the propositions of the 30th of April, 1852, the mature deliberation of the 30th of April, 1852, the mortheastern boundary, the affair of the "Caroline," the were still involved in the controversies about the mortheastern boundary, the affair of the "Caroline," the mortheastern boundary the affair of the "Caroline," the mortheastern boundary, the affair of the "Caroline," the mortheastern boundary the affair of the "Caroline," the mortheastern boundary the affair of the "Caroline," the mortheastern boundary the affair of the "Caroline," the affair of the "Caro and feeling a pretty heavy sense of responsibility as to my own position, having been sent there to discuss all these questions without a word of instruction from the Government upon any one of them, I received a note from Lord Aberdeen, appointing an interview for the next day, the object of which turned out to be to inform me that the Queen's Government, lately formed under Sir Robert Peel, had come to the conclusion to make a new and, as it hoped, a successful attempt to settle all mat ters in controversy between the two countries; and that for this purpose it had determined to send a special Min-ister to the United States, and had selected Lord Ashburton for the mission on the express ground that, though he would of course look after the interests of his own country, he was the individual perhaps in the whole British empire in a position to undertake the duty who would carry to the United States the kindest feelings and the most friendly domestic and personal associations I confess that that communication, made in that amicable tone for the express object mentioned, did, as it were saw at no great distance the prospect of an adjustment

> It may be comparing small things with great, but I must say that it was with a somewhat similar feeling of satisfaction that I found that one of the first acts of Lord Aberdeen's new Government was to make an overture to us for the settlement of this, not so formidable, but still by no means inconsiderable difficulty down in Central America. The purport of the communication was, that the Government of her Britannic Majesty was disposed to agree to almost any thing reasonable. was willing to recognise, it had recognised, the independent Government that was set up at San Juan. With respect to the protectorate, it desired nothing more than to be wholly disembarrassed from it, so far as it could without an entire sacrifice of the duties of charity and paternal the Indian tribes which for two hundred years had been, to a certain extent, under its tutelage. to get out of it with honor and credit. That was the purport of the communication. It was willing to go there with the United States, and treat with the municipal au thorities of San Juan, and was willing that they should continue to govern the territory, American citizens though they were. It was willing that they should continue in power under the cover of the Mosquito King, or they might assume the absolute sovereigaty, and extend just such protection to the Indians as their condition and wants should require.

They invited us to go there with them, to join them in treating with the municipal authorities, and if the arrangement could be completed, then to join, not in guaranteeing the independence of this little new republic-for that it was thought would not be deemed by us an advisable step-but to act in concert with them in preventing the overturning of the new State by violence from abroad, and in extending such friendly countenance to the poo remnants of the Indians as would prevent them from

I must confess that I thought this a very reasonable sident to which I have alluded, which was approved by put our diplomatic relations with those States upon the most advantageous footing. I will say, however, that I thought, and still think, that instead of recognising the independence of this new municipal organization, this free city of San Juan-(and it appears to me it would be like one of the Hanse towns of Germany)—considering the antecedents of the question and the history of the whole like one of the Hanse towns of Germany)—considering the antecedents of the question and the history of the whole affair, it would be better to renew to Nicaragua the propositions that we made to her last April, and give up San brought to the consideration of the British Minister, it that she thought she was entitled to; and Nicaragua had Boone writes that out of seventy vessels that arrived in been greatly favored on the other side. But how, in a the six months he was there, sixty, if I recollect, were andary contest between two Powers of about equal American vessels and if the canal is to be constructed, trength, can you ever come to a settlement on any other as this will be the eastern terminus of the great route of asis than that of compromise and neutral concession? interoceanic communication, it will become in time a great der the circumstances of the case, I should be in favor, trusting, I have no doubt safely trusting, to her good sense not to press the inhabitants of that city. I believe she would give them an independent government, and allow them to carry on their affairs in their own way, by means of municipal authorities of their own election Now, sir, how far this project will succeed depends very

much, in the first instance, upon the individual sent on the mission. I look upon it as a very important mission. Small as those States are, I really think that at this time it is more important who is sent by the United States to Central America than who is sent to London, to Paris, or St. Petersburg; and I must say, without intending to use any language of compliment, that I place entire confidence in the President of the United States, that, out of the able and distinguished men of his own party, he will select the right man. I have no doubt he will do it, and I have pleasure in saying so. The only diplomatic appointments which have yet been made by him, that to switzerland and that to Peru, are sufficient pledges to my mind that he will have regard to merit and to qualification Those appointments, in my opinion, do him the highest honor, as they do the highest honor to his political friends espatch of our consular agent, Mr. Boone, who arrived upon this floor, who confirmed them without hesitation that San Juan on the 3d of June last. He writes the following and without a division. I have no doubt that he will be governed by the same good sense in the appointment to be made for this mission; and if the right man can be found, and if he can be induced to go down there to take this work in hand and bring these protracted controversies to a desirable conclusion, he will cover himself with ionor. I do not see any point in the range of our foreign relations where so much good is now to be done. And sir, allow me to say one other word on this point. It seems to me that this is the last chance we have for settling affairs on a desirable and honorable footing. If this fails, I do not myself see any hope of taking up the sub-ject in any other form with a better prospect of success. vention If we cannot now settle all these matters and remove all the difficulties that obstruct the execution of the canal, The convention was held and the present constitution as far as depends upon political considerations, I do not see but that Nicaragua and Costa Rica must be left to struggle on together with each other, with the certainty, the moral and political certainty, that the construction of s Mosquito King; and Mr. Boone represents that there the canal through their country is indefinitely postponed. Whether that would be for the interest of Nicaragua it is for her to judge. I have taken up more of the time of the Senate than

stended, and have now said all that I have to say on the main subject. Before I take my seat, however, I will add a few words in reference to topics on which I may be expected to say something-I mean the Belize, the Bay equito protectorate as a security for the present against Islands, and the recent operations in Honduras, and the the invasion of the State of Nicaragua, until they shall be opinion entertained by distinguished Senators that those settlements and operations furnish just ground for accusing England of a breach of the stipulations of the treaty of the 19th of April, 1850. In reference to this I will candidly say that I do not think England has either violated, or intended to violate, the faith of that treaty. Why should she? What had she to gain by entering into a treaty stipulation with no other intention than to break it? She was not obliged to make the treaty. She had no motive in making it except the motive of faithfully executing its provisions. She owed us nothing in reference to Central America or the canal. We had no claim upon her which required her to enter into the compact with us. What possible inducement of interest or ambi tion, or any other corrupt motive that could influence a State, can it be supposed England could have had to enter into the treaty for the sole purpose of breaking it? Why, sir, there was difficulty enough before. The pretension to Mosquito protectorate was itself troublesome enough Why should England voluntarily and gratuitously add to that difficulty a new difficulty that would immediately present itself by breaking her solemnly plighted faith with the United States? I cannot think that she would be so

senseless as to do it. Then in reference to the affairs of Central America pro-

which the two parties placed upon the stipulation, but she has been continually receding. She has given up this, and she has given up that. She is dezirous not only to upon either party; if there were a disposition to cavil possed to take exception, there would be reasonable ground for taking it against the United States.

With respect to the settlements at Belize, after all that has been said in the course of the winter on this subject,

especially after the speeches of the Senator from Mary-land (Mr. Pearce) and the Senator from New York, (Mr. SEWARD;) after the view taken of the subject by the Committee on Foreign Relations in their able report, and the explanations that have taken place in the course of the recent discussion, I do not think it would be worth while for me to take up the time of the Senate by dwelling upon the question. I believe it is now admitted upon all sides of the Senate anamber, let the decision of the geographieal question be what it may, let the Belize be in Central America or in Mexico, let the origin and character of these settlements be what they will, that they were not in the contemplation of the parties to the treaty at the time it was negotiated, or of the Senate at the time it was approved.

Attention was not at all turned to these settlements. The parties had something else in view. They were thinking of the canal and the means of carrying forward that great work of interoceanic communication.

The same remark may be made in reference to the Bay

Islands. They have been for a century and more a part of the dependencies of Belize, and it was not the understanding of the contracting parties that they should be effected one way or the other by the stipulations of the treaty of 19th of April, 1850.

I understand the facts in reference to the recent estab-

lishment of the colony to be these: These islands were among those which were seized, given up and seized again, while the state of things lasted which I described in a former part of my remarks, and finally the English of late years have considered that the title "de facto and de jure" (I quote the words of a despatch of Lord Palmerston,) was in them. As to the validity of the claim, I have not a word to say. I am only stating the pretensions of England; and I suppose it is admitted that at the time the treaty was negotiated those dependencies were not any more than Belize itself understood by the negotiators to be included in the stipulations of the treaty. Two or three years ago, as I understand, the inhabitants of the islands, not being very numerous, sent a messenger to the superintendent of the Belize, and informed him that they were without any regular government, and that they wished one to be established. He told them, very reasonwished one to be established. He told them, very reason-ably, that her Britannic Majesty could not afford to gov-ern them for nothing; and that they must see how much they could raise by voluntary taxation to defray the ex-penses of the Government. They held a meeting and agreed that they would tax themselves £200 a year. They sent word of the result to the superintendent of the Belize, who told them that for that he thought he could get them a regular Government. In consequence of that, the order of last July was issued establishing the colony of the Bay Islands. Such is the account I have received or the origin of this colonial organization-not, however, ought to add, from any official source. If these facts are, as I have stated. I think it may be

said that there is no violation of the stipulation of the treaty in organizing that colony. At the same time, I must candidly say that I think it is an ill-advised step. I have no doubt it has been hastily taken on the suggestion of the colonial authorities, and that it has been passed inadvertently through the Foreign Office at London without a sufficient consideration of the circumstances of the case. I think that the organization, the avowed organization into a colony of islands belonging geographically, the just susceptibility of the American mind on this sub ject, which is not greater than would exist in England on a similar subject and in a parallel state of affairs, a very ill advised and indiscreet step. I have no doubt the con sent of the Home Government has been surprised into it by the officious zeal of the colonial authorities, and I enknow that at that time the United States first agreed to recognise the independence of those islands. A communication was made by me to that effect to the British Minister for Foreign Affairs in London. He agreed that his Government would recognise their independence, and use its best influence to induce France to do the same. The next news that came was that Lord George Paulet, thorized act. It was the same thing with the seizure of Tigre island by Mr. Chatfield, in 1848; and although the case is different, these islands having for a long time been the unqualified though contested possession of Great Britain, I do think, under all the circumstances of the case, that on a calm and dispassionate representation from this Government, this hasty step will be retraced. With respect to the transactions at Truxillo, we have nothing but newspaper information on the subject, and even that informs us that there has been no bombardm no cannonading of the place, as at first reported; but Sir George Seymour, the commander of the British squadron in the West Indies, an officer of great moderation, who is distinguished for his friendly feelings towards the United States, and at whose instance the British Admiralty have very lately put in the possession of Commodore Perry commander of the squadron sent out by this Government to Japan, a large number of charts and hydrographic works—every thing, in short, to facilitate the expedition has sent a war steamer to Truxillo to tell the authorities there that they must recall an armed party which they had sent over the frontier to break up the settlements of the English wood-cutters on the river Limas. I do not think any thing serious will grow out of these transactions and I can only say, that, if there were a disputed boundary between us and Mexico, and Mexico were to send ar armed force to break up a settlement of Americans, and destroy their establishments, I think we should tell them, in the plainest terms the English language contains, that the United States did not understand that way of settling

boundary controversies. The Senate will infer, from what I have now said, that do not apprehend any disturbance of the peaceful relations between this country and Great Britain, in conse-quence of the state of things in Central America. In the last speech which I had the honor to make in the House of Representatives, now eighteen years ago, I expressed the opinion that there was no danger of a war between the United States and France, with whom our friendly relations were seriously menaced in consequence of the delay of the French chambers to make an appropriation to carry into effect Mr. Rive's treaty of indemnity. I am not sorry, in raising my voice for the first time as a member of the Senate, that it is for the pupose of expressing similar sentiments in reference to Great Britain

It is not because either in this case or in that I am indifferent to the interests or the honor of my country. Far otherwise, sir: it is because I do not think they are in I agree with the distinguished Senator from Illi nois (Mr. Douglas) that England does not love us. In the relations of countries which are governed by Consti-tutions, by Parliaments, and by Congresses, there is no room for love or for hate, or for any sentimental influence enlightened regard for the public interest is the only rule of action. It is only under absolute Governments, under a monarch who, like Louis XIV, can say, "I am the State," that there is room for love and for hate. Between us and England, and the rest of the constitutional Powers of Europe, there is room only for the influence of the dictates of an enlightened regard to the public weal. But this I will say, that I am persuaded at this time that with all parties in England a mutually beneficial, peaceful intercours with the United States is considered a cardinal principle of the policy of the Government; and I think that on our side toward England, and toward Europe, we ought to consider a mutually beneficial, peaceful intercourse as a

cardinal principle of our policy.

I cordially sympathize with the distinguished Senator from Illinois in the glowing views that he entertains of the future growth and glory of our country. I wish I could persuade him that this glorious future of America is not inconsistent with an equally auspicious future for the friendly Powers of Europe. I wish I could persuade him that that part of the world is not exclusively the region of tombs and monuments that he so graphically described, but that in every country in Europe, more in some than in others, but visibly in all, there is progress; that liberal ideas are at work; that popular in and influences are steadily forming themselves; that the melioration of the laboring classes is going on; that edu-